CHAPTER 8

National Self-Determination

Figure 8-1 The 38th session of the Canadian Parliament opened on October 16, 2007, when Governor General Michaëlle Jean delivered the throne speech. On May 15, 2008, Pema Namgyal (bottom right) carried the Tibetan Freedom Torch on Parliament Hill. This was a response to the international Olympic torch relay that led up to the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, China. On May 29, 2008, Alden Pompana (bottom left) of Dakota Sioux, Manitoba, danced on the steps of Parliament Hill to celebrate the Aboriginal National Day of Action.

CHAPTER ISSUE

Should national self-determination be pursued?

KEY TERMS

plebiscite

refugees

CANADIANS CAN EXPRESS their opinions about what is in their national interest in many ways. One way is to vote for political representatives. At the beginning of every parliamentary session, the federal political party that is in power prepares a throne speech that sets out its goals for the session.

Canadians can also take their concerns directly to Ottawa. This is what First Nations representatives, including Alden Pompana, did on the Aboriginal National Day of Action in 2008. Canadians may also voice concerns about international issues. In 2008, for example, Tibetans used the Beijing Olympics as a chance to protest what they view as the Chinese occupation of their nation — and Canadians who supported the Tibetans' cause demonstrated on Parliament Hill.

Examine the photographs on the previous page and respond to the following questions:

- Whose national interests does each photograph show? How are these national interests expressed?
- The photographs show people expressing their points of view and perspectives on national interests. How might these interests clash with the interests of other people?
- Why would First Nations people and supporters of a free Tibet go to Ottawa to protest?

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore whether nations should pursue self-determination. You will do this by responding to the following questions:

- What is national self-determination?
- What are some effects of pursuing national self-determination?
- What are some effects on Canada of pursuing national self-determination?
- What are some unintended results of pursuing national self-determination?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look back at the journal entry you made at the beginning of Chapter 7. Has your understanding of national interest changed since then? If so, explain how. If not, explain why not. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file. You will revisit them as you progress through this course.

What is national self-determination?

When a people pursue national self-determination, they are trying to gain — or keep — the power to control their own affairs. They want to make their own decisions about what is in their national interest.

At one time, for example, Timor-Leste — also known as East Timor — was a colony of Portugal. When the Portuguese left in 1975, Indonesia invaded Timor-Leste. The United Nations demanded that the invaders leave. But when they refused, the UN did nothing to force them. So for years, the people of Timor-Leste struggled to gain self-determination. By 1999, more than 200 000 Timorese had been killed and much of the country was in ruins.

In August 1999, the United Nations held a **plebiscite** — a vote to determine public opinion on an important issue — in Timor-Leste. Timorese voted on whether they wanted complete independence or to remain part of Indonesia. Most Timorese chose independence. But a minority were violently opposed. Indonesian soldiers and militias loyal to Indonesia used violence to discourage the independence movement.

In 2002, Timor-Leste officially gained independence, and a UN mission was sent to keep peace. That mission ended in 2005, but in 2006, UN peacekeepers were sent back to stop renewed violence.

The pursuit of national self-determination continues to be difficult for Timorese. On February 11, 2008, for example, the country's president, José Ramos-Horta, was shot during an attack on his home. He survived and resumed his duties.

from Latin *plebs*, "the people," and *scisere*, "to vote for"

plebiscite

a vote to find out what citizens think about an important question

similar to a referendum

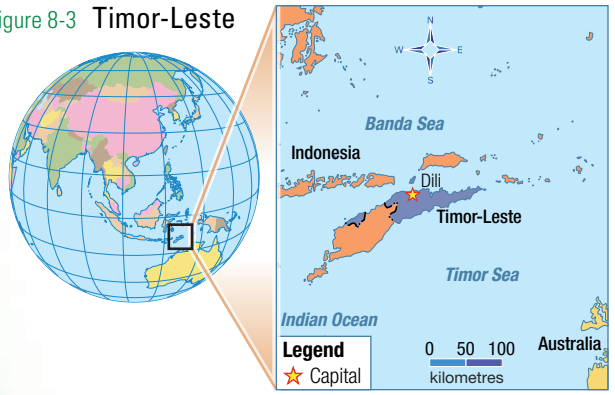
Figure 8-2 Three days before national elections in 2007, supporters of the Fretilin Party held a campaign rally in Dili, capital of Timor-Leste. Fretilin spearheaded the campaign for independence.

Self-Determination in 1918

As World War I was ending in 1918, American president Woodrow Wilson called for the "free self-determination of nations." Wilson hoped this principle would lead to lasting peace in Europe.

But in the treaties negotiated after the war, it became clear that the victorious Allies' idea of self-determination applied only to northern Europe. It did not extend to nations, such as those in Yugoslavia, that had been part of the Ottoman Empire. And it did not apply to nations, such as Timor-Leste, that were colonies of European empires.

Figure 8-3 Timor-Leste



To see a larger map of this area, turn to the map appendix.

Self-Determination and Nation States

American historian Louis L. Snyder said that a people's desire for self-determination underpins their right to freely choose how they will be governed. But Snyder also noted that the desire for self-determination can bring people together — or drive them apart. In Timor-Leste, for example, the violence that followed the plebiscite on independence was caused by conflicting ideas about self-determination.

The debate over who has the right to self-determination — and what this right means — is reflected in the charter of the United Nations. According to the charter, the UN exists to strengthen peace in the world. One way the UN keeps peace is by developing "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples."

All countries that belong to the UN have the right to "sovereign equality." But the UN does not say what happens when peoples within sovereign countries want self-determination.

The International Court of Justice was established in 1945 as part of the UN. This court has ruled that peoples, as well as governments, have the right to self-determination. So the sovereignty of a nation-state can sometimes conflict with a people's right to self-determination.

Figure 8-4 In February 2008, signs like this added to tensions between ethnic Serbs and Albanians in the town of Mitrovica, Kosovo. Why would finding a solution that enables both Albanian and Serbian Kosovars to pursue self-determination be difficult?

Kosovo — Self-Determination or Sovereignty

Until Kosovo declared independence in 2008, it had been a province of Serbia. Most Albanian Kosovars welcomed independence, but many Serbs and Serbian Kosovars did not. To Serbs, Kosovo's declaration meant losing part of their country. An independent Kosovo threatened Serbian sovereignty. Some countries, including China and Russia, agreed with Serbia.

Soon after Kosovo's declaration, the UN Security Council held emergency sessions to discuss the situation. Russia urged council members to make Kosovo's declaration of independence "null and void." The Security Council did not do this, but no agreement was reached on recognizing Kosovo as an independent country. Still, many individual UN member states — including Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Hungary, Canada, and the United States — did recognize Kosovo's independence.

<<< CheckBack

You read about Kosovo's declaration of independence in Chapter 6.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. With a partner, develop three criteria to help the UN decide when to recognize new countries such as Kosovo. Consider the UN's position on human rights, on a nation-state's right to sovereignty, and on a people's right to self-determination. Consider, too, the consequences of recognizing a new country.
2. With your partner, apply the criteria you developed in Question 1 to Timor-Leste and Kosovo. Would one or the other meet your criteria? Would both? Explain your decision.
3. How much should UN recognition matter to nation-states?

What are some effects of pursuing national self-determination?

At the end of World War I, American president Woodrow Wilson believed that national self-determination would bring peace and security to the world. Who could deny the appeal of a world in which all peoples could control their own lives and pursue their national interests?

But pursuing national self-determination can have both positive and negative effects. An action that is in one people's national interest may not be in another people's interests. Even defining "a people" has proven difficult.

Javier Leon Diaz, an international human rights lawyer, says that no precise legal definition of the term "people" exists. But Leon Diaz also says that the term is often used to describe groups who

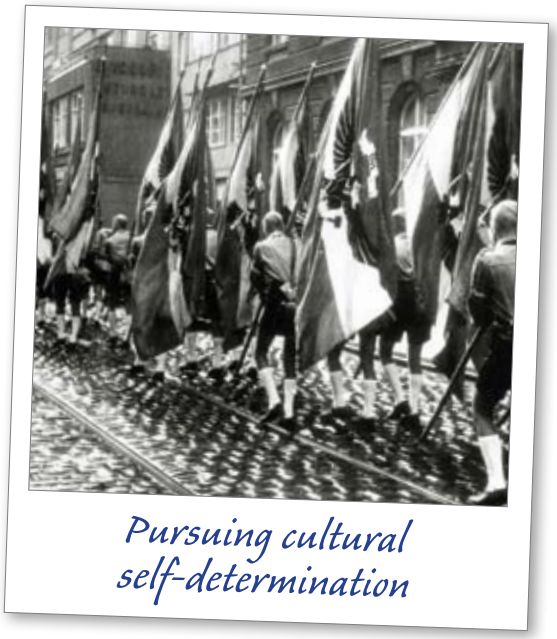
- share a common historical tradition, language, and religion
- identify themselves as a distinct cultural group
- have a traditional connection to a particular territory

But understanding the term "people" is only the first step toward resolving various peoples' struggle for the right to self-determination.

Picturing the Pursuit of Self-Determination

Figure 8-5 On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip (left), a member of a Bosnian Serb ultranationalist group, killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in Sarajevo. Princip and his group hoped to bring all southern Slav peoples into a single nation. Instead, his action was the spark that led to World War I.

Figure 8-6 In August 1939, members of Hitler Youth paraded in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia. When Hitler first invaded, he said he wanted to offer self-determination to the German-speaking peoples of the Sudetenland, which was part of Czechoslovakia. But then he also invaded much of the rest of Czechoslovakia. The pursuit of Germanic self-determination was one cause of World War II.



Continuity and Change

Sometimes a people's struggle for self-determination has a long and tangled history. Many struggles for self-determination are the result of events that caused a people to lose control over their government, their economy, their society, or their culture. Past civic and ethnic claims and conflicts can affect what a people are able to achieve.

In Kosovo, for example, the struggle between ethnic Albanians and ethnic Serbs has gone on for generations. Both groups claim the region. Albanians lived in the area as early as the sixth century. Serbs have been there since at least the 11th century. Serbian Kosovars have longstanding and strong ties with Serbia, while Albanian Kosovars have strong ties with Albania. Between 1974 and 1998, nationalist feelings on both sides grew stronger and the two groups fought with each other.

Examine the pictures in the photo essay on this page and the previous page. In each case, identify some of the conflicting interests involved in the pursuit of national self-determination.

Pursuing economic self-determination

Figure 8-7 An oil tanker loads at Iraq's Al-Basra offshore terminal. Many Iraqis feared that their country's oil wealth would benefit multinational oil companies based in the United States and Britain and would not serve the national interests of Iraqis.

Pursuing social self-determination

Figure 8-8 A fisher in Timor-Leste repairs his nets. For many Timorese, self-determination means ending the violence in their society and being able to go about their daily lives without fear.

Figure 8-9 North and South Vietnam

To see a larger map of this area, turn to the map appendix.

Pursuing National Self-Determination in Indochina

By the early 1900s, much of Southeast Asia was ruled by European countries — Portugal, Spain, Britain, the Netherlands, and France. France controlled Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and had renamed the region French Indochina.

When Japan invaded Indochina during World War II, some peoples in the area became committed to pursuing national self-determination. In Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, a communist leader, founded the Viet Minh independence movement to fight the Japanese.

When the war ended, France took back control of Vietnam. But Ho and the Viet Minh kept up their fight for independence. The war between the Vietnamese and the French finally ended in 1954 with the defeat of France.

At that time, Vietnam was divided in two. North Vietnam was a communist state supported by China and the Soviet Union. South Vietnam was supported by the United States and other Western powers. As a result, Vietnam became a battleground in the Cold War between the two superpowers.

The people of South Vietnam had been promised elections. But no elections ever took place. U.S. officials feared that if an election were held, the people of South Vietnam would vote for the Viet Minh. Instead, South Vietnam was ruled by dictators, who were supported by the U.S.

In Vietnam

By 1969, about 500 000 U.S. troops were fighting the North Vietnamese, and the war had expanded into neighbouring Cambodia.

In the U.S., war supporters argued that stopping the spread of communism in the region was in the American national interest. As early as 1954, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had used the domino theory to explain how communist China and Russia might take over all of Southeast Asia. "You have a row of dominoes set up," Eisenhower said. "You knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly." Other war supporters said the United States was fighting to free the Vietnamese people.

But in the 1960s, more and more Americans came to oppose their country's involvement in Vietnam. Some opponents said the U.S. had no right to interfere in a dispute between the peoples of Vietnam. Others spoke of the damage caused by U.S. forces, the loss of American lives, and the physical and economic losses of the Vietnamese people.

With a partner, read the words of Martin Luther King in "Voices." Think about the world today. List two nations that you think might fit his description of "have nots." Explain your choices.

[One of the casualties] of the war in Vietnam is the principle of self-determination . . . Our participation in the war in Vietnam is an ominous expression of our lack of sympathy for the oppressed, our paranoid anti-Communism, our failure to feel the ache and anguish of the have nots.

— Martin Luther King Jr., American civil rights leader, 1967

In Cambodia

People seeking self-determination often want to live secure lives in a just society. If a people want to bring to justice those who committed crimes against them, international law helps them do this.

Cambodia, for example, was once part of French Indochina. But by 1976, the communist dictator Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge party controlled the country. For the next three years, Cambodians endured a reign of terror.

People were forced from their homes in cities and towns to work on poorly run collective farms. They had to give up their religion, private property, and money. Schools and hospitals were closed. Up to 1.5 million people were murdered or died of exhaustion, disease, or starvation.

Vietnamese forces overthrew Pol Pot's government in 1979. Cambodia then became a constitutional monarchy. But the country remained politically unstable. The Khmer Rouge kept fighting a guerrilla war. In 1993, Cambodians voted for the first time in UN-supervised elections, but peace was not achieved until 1998.

Seeking Justice in Cambodia

For Cambodians who survived Pol Pot's regime, achieving justice has been difficult. In 2003, the UN set up a tribunal to try former Khmer Rouge members who were accused of genocide and crimes against humanity. But progress has been slow.

The tribunal includes both UN-appointed and Cambodian judges. These judges disagree on how to follow international law while respecting Cambodian justice traditions. The fact that Khmer Rouge members are now members of the Cambodian government has complicated the legal process.

Some observers, including Theary Seng, an author, lawyer, and activist whose parents were killed by the Khmer Rouge, say that the trials have been delayed so long that they now serve little purpose. Many senior Khmer Rouge officials, as well as victims and witnesses, are dead. Pol Pot, for example, died in 1998, before the tribunal was even set up.

Should Cambodians be able to decide for themselves how to bring accused members of the Khmer Rouge to justice, or should the trials be conducted according to the principles of international law?

VOICES

Sometime before morning the guards took her. I was seven years old; Daravuth was four. Little did I know that would be the last time I would see my mother. The light went out. Eternal night. Life is but a breath.

What seemed like several hours later, my older brothers returned to us. The prison was eerily empty. "Here, take your crying siblings with you. You're free to go home," a guard instructed my older brothers. My mother's blood purchased our freedom. We made our way back to our grandfather's village.

— Theary Seng, Cambodian lawyer and activist, 2005

Why would it be difficult to bring people to justice when they are members of your own community?

Figure 8-10 A Cambodian man views photographs of people killed by the Khmer Rouge. These pictures are displayed in the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital. Nearby are the "killing fields," where mass graves have been found. How might memorials like this strengthen a people's desire for self-determination?

Figure 8-11 This statue of Queen Victoria still stands in Kolkata, which was the capital of India during British rule. In 1877, an act of the British Parliament appointed Victoria empress of India. Whose national interests were served by this appointment? What purpose would this appointment have served?

Pursuing National Self-Determination in India

At the beginning of the 20th century, Britain ruled the present-day countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Britain's takeover of the region had started in 1600, when Queen Elizabeth I granted the East India Company exclusive rights to trade there. The East India Company controlled India in much the same way as the Hudson's Bay Company controlled Rupert's Land in Canada.

In the early 1800s, the East India Company's grip on India began to slip. Finally, in 1858, the British government established direct rule over India. The British did not consult the peoples involved. Their national interests and right to self-determination were not considered.

The Rise of Indian Nationalism

During the first half of the 20th century, Indian nationalist movements gained strength. Many Indians began to claim the right to govern themselves. They wanted independence. In 1919, the British rulers allowed Indians to set up a national parliament, but only the wealthiest people in the country were allowed to vote — and this parliament had little real power.

FYI

Mohandas Gandhi is revered in India, where he is often called Mahatma Gandhi or the Mahatma. *Mahatma* is a Sanskrit word that means "great soul." Sanskrit is an ancient Hindu language that is still used by scholars.

Non-Violent Protest

In the 1920s, Mohandas Gandhi, a lawyer, began to emerge as the leader of the self-determination movement in India. Gandhi had lived for 20 years in South Africa, where he fought for the rights of Indians, who were subject to racist laws. In 1914, he returned to India and joined the nationalist Indian National Congress, or Congress Party.

Over the following decades, Gandhi united the peoples of India in fighting against British rule — and for the right to decide their own future. He believed that non-violence and non-co-operation, forms of civil disobedience, were the keys to achieving Indians' goals.

The British, for example, controlled the sale of salt in India. The British used the money from salt taxes to help pay the cost of governing India. Indians were not allowed to collect salt from the oceans bordering their country.

On March 12, 1930, Gandhi and 78 followers left Sabarmati to walk 386 kilometres to the Arabian Sea. There, they planned to break the British law by collecting salt. Thousands of people joined the march. When they reached the sea and started to collect salt, Gandhi and many others were arrested. In the following weeks, thousands more Indians collected and sold salt. They, too, were jailed.

The Salt March was only one of Gandhi's campaigns. The large number of people who joined Gandhi's non-co-operation campaigns through the 1930s and 1940s amazed and frightened India's British rulers.

Figure 8-12 In 2005, on the 75th anniversary of the Salt March, Sonia Gandhi prays and scatters rose petals at a statue of Mohandas Gandhi. Sonia Gandhi is not related to Mohandas Gandhi, but she is the daughter-in-law of former prime minister Indira Gandhi and the widow of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi. Both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were assassinated by political opponents.

The Creation of Pakistan

When the Indian National Congress was formed in the late 1800s, Muslims and Hindus worked together for independence. But by 1906, some Muslims believed that Hindus, who formed a majority in the party, had too much control. So they formed their own party, the All India Muslim League. This party said that Muslims should have their own separate nation-state.

In early 1940, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, insisted that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations. Jinnah told Mohandas Gandhi that Muslims are "a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature . . . sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions."

Gandhi, who wanted a united India, disagreed. He told Jinnah that Muslims and Hindus are one nation. "A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour," he said.

But Ali Jinnah's view prevailed. When India achieved independence in 1947, Pakistan also became a nation-state. India was largely Hindu, and Pakistan was largely Muslim. In both countries, Hindus and Muslims, who had once lived together peacefully, went on rampages. At least a million people were killed. Millions more were forced to flee to safety.

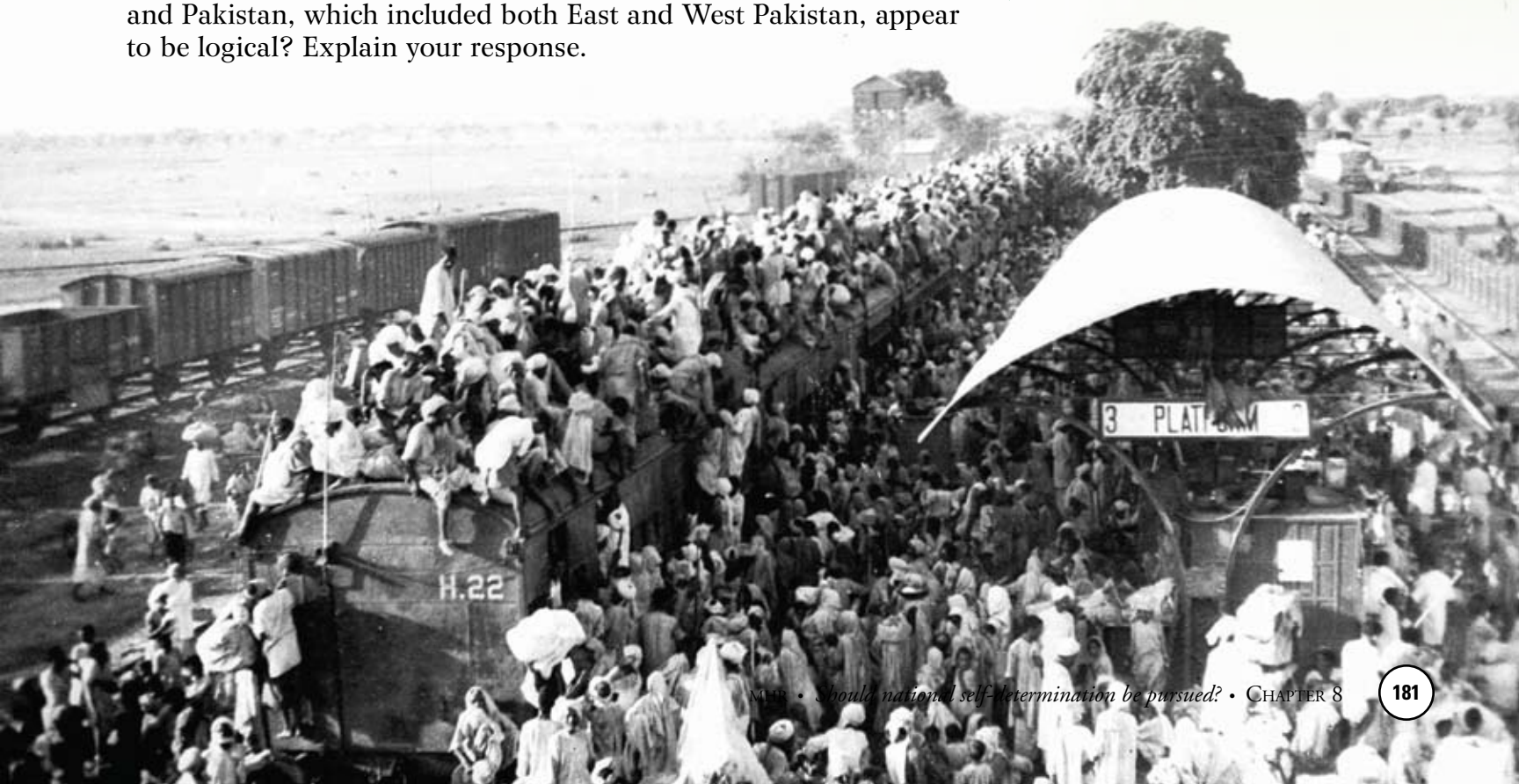
As a result of the violence, Muslims went on the long hard journey from India to Pakistan and Hindus went on the equally long hard journey from Pakistan to India.

Examine the map in Figure 8-13. The map shows how colonial India was divided in 1947. Does the division of India into India and Pakistan, which included both East and West Pakistan, appear to be logical? Explain your response.

Figure 8-13 India, Pakistan, and Kashmir at Partition, 1947

To see a more detailed map of this area, turn to the map appendix.

Figure 8-14 In 1947, soon after the partition of India, hundreds of Muslim refugees crowded onto trains for Pakistan. Muslims were desperate to leave India — and Hindus were desperate to leave Pakistan.



Pursuing National Self-Determination in Kashmir

When one people start a fight for self-determination, it may overshadow another people's desire for the same thing. This is what happened in Kashmir when the British left India.

Long before the British took over Kashmir, the Kashmiri people lived in a clearly defined territory in the northwestern Himalaya Mountains. The people of the region speak Kashmiri, a distinct language. They also identify themselves as a distinct cultural group.

In 1947, British, Indian, and Pakistani leaders agreed that Kashmiris should have the right to decide whether to join India or Pakistan. In 1948, the United Nations Security Council decided to hold a plebiscite. Kashmiris would vote on their two options.

Whose wishes were not considered in the decision to offer Kashmiris a choice between joining India and Pakistan? What options do you think Kashmiris might have added to the list? Explain your reasoning.

Before the plebiscite could be held, India invaded and took control of much of Kashmir. Ever since, India and Pakistan have fought over Kashmiri territory. And despite the UN's repeated demands, Kashmiris have never been allowed to vote on their future.

The section of Kashmir controlled by India includes more than twice as many Kashmiris as the section controlled by Pakistan. Kashmiris have resisted Indian control, and this has often led to violence. Though the original plan was to ask Kashmiris whether they wanted to join India or Pakistan, many Kashmiri nationalists are now calling for complete independence.

Web Connection

To find out more about Kashmiris' struggle for self-determination and about human rights abuses in the region, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 8-15 In April 2008, a Kashmiri woman watched as relatives of people who have disappeared in Indian-occupied Kashmir staged a protest in Srinagar. Do you think these disappearances would strengthen or weaken Kashmiris' desire for national self-determination?

Kashmiris' National Interest

In 2007, the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons estimated that 10 000 Kashmiris have been "disappeared" — captured by Indian forces and never seen again. Villages in the area along the dividing line between Pakistani- and Indian-controlled Kashmir have been destroyed by shelling. Civilians have been killed, and the survivors have been forced to flee their ruined homes. On both sides of the border, the military presence is a constant reminder that Kashmiris live in occupied territory and do not have the right to self-determination.

Sajjad Hussain, a 19-year old student in Kargil, Kashmir, said that Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists have lived "side by side and in harmony for generations." But he also said that the living conditions of people in his city are poor. The people don't have proper roads, hospitals, or schools. As far as he is concerned, politicians of all parties must focus on the real interests of the Kashmiri people.

Pursuing National Self-Determination in Tibet

In the spring of 2008, China and the world were preparing for the Beijing Summer Olympics — and some Tibetans took the opportunity to publicize their demand for national self-determination.

The Autonomous Region of Tibet is a province of China, but it was once part of a separate country. Tibetans had their own culture, language, traditions, and religion. The region had been largely Buddhist since the seventh century. From the mid-17th century to the mid-20th century, Tibet was ruled by dalai lamas, who held political as well as spiritual power.

In 1950, at the same time as India and Pakistan were establishing their own independent governments, China invaded Tibet. The Dalai Lama asked the United Nations for help. He said that the people of Tibet had been "compelled by force to become a part of China against their will and consent." The Dalai Lama's plea was ignored. The UN Security Council said that Tibet and China should resolve the problem.

As the Chinese took greater control of the government, the Dalai Lama and his government fled to India. The Chinese put down the Buddhist religion, destroyed monasteries, and outlawed Tibetan customs and culture. Thousands of Tibetan civilians and Buddhist monks and nuns were killed. Thousands more were put in prison or sent into exile.

Over the years, some UN members have spoken out against the Chinese takeover. In 1959, 1961, and 1965, members of the General Assembly passed resolutions upholding the Tibetan people's right to self-determination. Some politicians condemned the invasion. In 1959, Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru said, "It is morally not right for a country to lay full or partial claim on its neighbouring state . . . the last voice regarding Tibet should be the voice of the Tibetan people and nobody else's."

<<< CheckBack

You explored Tibetan nationalism in Chapter 1.

At what point should the United Nations step in to uphold a people's right to self-determination?

FYI

In Tibetan Buddhism, lamas are spiritual teachers. There are many lamas, but only one Dalai Lama. "Dalai" means "ocean" and refers to the Dalai Lama's deep understanding and knowledge. In 1989, the current Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent campaign to win self-determination for Tibet.

Figure 8-16 On April 26, 2008, supporters of China and Tibet lined the Olympic torch relay route in Nagano, Japan. Around the world, some people used the Olympic torch relay to protest China's occupation of Tibet.

The Changing Population of Tibet

In the 21st century, Tibetans in exile worry about assimilation, as well as losing their human rights. When the Qinghai–Tibet Railway started operating in 2006, it brought a flood of Chinese immigrants to Tibet. Critics say that this Chinese immigration is against international law. International law says that an occupying country cannot move its own people into occupied territory.

When an invading power moves people from its home country into the country it has taken over, the culture and population of the occupied country change. In Tibet, the transfer of large numbers of Chinese people is changing Tibetan culture and traditions.

And if Tibetans ever have a chance to vote on their future, the Chinese settlers may also affect the outcome of this vote. The immigrants might sway the vote in favour of remaining a province of China. Most Chinese believe that this is Tibet's status.

In 2008, the Dalai Lama said that the immigration of millions of Chinese into Tibet is a form of cultural genocide: "The distinctive Tibetan cultural heritage with its characteristic language, customs and traditions is fading away," he said.

If the Chinese resettlement program results in a Chinese majority in Tibet, should the Tibetan people still be able to exercise their right to self-determination? Explain your response.

Is it fair to compare Chinese immigration to Tibet with the immigration of early European settlers to Canada?

Tibetan National Self-Determination

A Tibetan Perspective	A Chinese Perspective
Any relationship between Tibet and China will have to be based on the principle of equality, respect, trust and mutual benefit. It will also have to be based on the principle which the wise rulers of Tibet and of China laid down in a treaty as early as 823 AD . . . that "Tibetans will live happily in the great land of Tibet, and the Chinese will live happily in the great land of China." – Dalai Lama, Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, 1989	The Chinese Government will unswervingly safeguard the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, promote development and stability in Tibet and protect the safety of life and property of people of all ethnic groups in Tibet . . . Any attempt to split China will be firmly opposed by the Chinese people of all nationalities including the Tibetan compatriots and is doomed to fail. – News release issued by the Chinese Embassy in the United States, March 2008

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. You have read about a number of examples of peoples who have pursued national self-determination — and how this pursuit affected them and others. Choose one example (e.g., Tibetans). Create a chart like the one shown. For the people you chose, note at least two positive and two negative consequences of their pursuit of national self-determination. For each consequence, cite an example or proof.

Positive and Negative Consequences of the Pursuit of Self-Determination

People _____

Positive Outcomes	Example or Proof	Negative Outcomes	Example or Proof

What are some effects on Canada of pursuing national self-determination?

Long before the first French and British settlers came to Canada in the 1600s and 1700s, Aboriginal peoples were independent. They made their own laws, provided their own physical and economic security, and lived by their own cultures and values. But as more and more European settlers arrived, all this started to change.

By the 1800s, Aboriginal peoples were a minority in Canada. Their right to self-determination and much of their territory had been taken from them. But in 1982, this changed again. Canada adopted its new Constitution, which affirmed Aboriginal and treaty rights. But for many Aboriginal peoples, this still did not bring the right to self-determination.

In Canada today, as in many other countries, two of the United Nations' core values offer conflicting views of self-determination. On the one hand, UN member countries have the right to sovereignty; on the other hand, the peoples within those countries have the right to control their own affairs and make decisions that are in their collective interests.

<<< CheckBack

You explored First Nations' pursuit of self-determination in Chapters 1 and 3.

First Nations' Pursuit of Self-Determination

According to the Assembly of First Nations, self-determination involves the right of a people to freely

- decide their own political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development
- dispose of and benefit from their wealth and natural resources

This AFN statement echoes the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which the United Nations adopted in 2007.

But a people's right to self-determination may conflict with a nation-state's right to sovereignty. In the 1990s, Aboriginal peoples told the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples that they did not want independence. But they did want the right to self-government. The report concluded that "self-determination includes governance, so Indigenous peoples are entitled to choose their own forms of government, within existing states."

Many First Nations people believe that self-determination must include settling land claims and regaining control of economic development. In 2006, for example, the Tsawwassen First Nation signed a treaty with British Columbia. By the terms of the treaty, approximately 724 hectares of land — including some very productive farmland — and $13.9 million were to be transferred to the Tsawwassen people.

For Tsawwassen chief Kim Baird, the treaty emphasized "self-reliance, personal responsibility and modern education." But some people in the town of Tsawwassen were concerned. Mayor Lois Jackson said that the region could not afford to lose the agricultural land.

Figure 8-17 On December 8, 2006, British Columbia premier Gordon Campbell prepared to sign a treaty as Kim Baird, chief of the Tsawwassen First Nation, looked on. Nearly 70 per cent of the Tsawwassen band voted to sign the treaty, but some refused. They feared losing their status under the Indian Act.

Education and Renewal

Many First Nations peoples believe that passing on their culture and values to their children is an important aspect of self-determination. They have established schools where young people are educated in their own language according to traditional values and knowledge.

Amiskwaciy Academy in Edmonton, for example, combines Aboriginal teaching with the core Alberta curriculum. The school also offers optional courses that reflect Aboriginal traditions and values. Elders are available to share their wisdom with students.

The First Nations University of Canada in Saskatchewan also focuses on teaching First Nations' culture and history. Students can take courses in Indigenous studies, intercultural leadership, and First Nations languages. Science programs include Indigenous knowledge. Students can enrol in social work courses that promote the healing of First Nations people who have suffered cultural loss.

VOICES

Our self-determination is embodied in our children, and our continued existence as Peoples requires the right to pass on our heritage, laws, culture, and knowledge through our children.

— *Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, in* Calling Forth Our Future, *2002*

Figure 8-18 On March 30, 1999, Inuit elder Ekalool Juralak lit a *qulluliq*, a traditional seal oil lamp, at the dedication of the Nunavut legislature in Iqaluit. Two days later, Nunavut became Canada's newest territory, and government members were sworn in at the legislature.

Inuit Pursuit of Self-Determination

The creation of Nunavut in 1999 shows that the Canadian government and Aboriginal communities in Canada can work successfully to achieve Aboriginal self-determination and self-government. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement is a modern treaty between the federal government and the Inuit. It covers nearly two million square kilometres — 20 per cent of Canada's land mass. It also sets out the right of the Inuit to share in making decisions about how their land and its resources are managed and used.

Iqaluit is Nunavut's capital, but key government departments are located in communities across the territory. The government does not have political parties — decisions are made by consensus.

Education in Nunavut promotes Inuit culture, traditions, and languages. It also helps young people develop the economic skills they need in the 21st century. Arctic College, for example, has three campuses and 24 widely dispersed community learning centres. Students prepare for their role in contemporary society with courses that include municipal government, fisheries, mining, tourism, and mental health. At the same time, they learn to respect Inuit values and traditional knowledge.

➲ In a small group, discuss how creating schools like Amiskwaciy Academy, First Nations University of Canada, and Arctic College might help Aboriginal peoples pursue self-determination. List three ideas that effectively capture your discussion. Compare these ideas with those of other groups. Return to your own group and, if necessary, revise your list to reflect new ideas that you may not have considered.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami was largely responsible for the creation of Nunavut. The organization, which was founded in 1971, represents the interests of Inuit people in Canada. ITK helps Inuit plan their future and find solutions to the challenges of self-determination.

Mary Simon, president of ITK, said that educating Inuit youth is one of the most important challenges for Inuit. More than 50 per cent of Inuit are younger than 25, and many young people are unlikely to finish high school. Simon says that the Inuit must rebuild their education system so that it truly represents their culture and traditions — and meets the standards of the rest of Canada.

In what ways might combining traditional Inuit education with standard Canadian educational subjects be a challenge?

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Zacharias Kunuk
Telling the Truth of What Happened

Figure 8-19 Zacharias Kunuk founded Igloolik Isuma Productions, Canada's first independent Inuit film production company. Kunuk's 2001 feature, *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, was the first Canadian movie that was written, produced, directed, and acted by Inuit.

In the 1950s, Zacharias Kunuk lived with his family on the land, hunting and fishing in the traditional Inuit way. When he was nine years old, he was learning to be part of a hunting team. His first job was to untangle the ropes of the dog teams whenever the hunters stopped to rest.

Then the Canadian government started settlement programs. Kunuk and his family were forced to move to Igoolik, on the northwest coast of Baffin Island.

Kunuk grew up listening to the hunting stories told by his father and friends. In 1981, when he was 24, he traded some soapstone carvings he had made for a video camera.

"What I wanted to do," Kunuk told *Ascent* magazine, "was go hunting with my father and videotape it and at the end of the day, he's drinking tea with his hunting buddies. I wanted to see it and show it." This marked the beginning of Kunuk's filmmaking career.

Kunuk's first feature film was called *Atanarjuat* in Inuktitut and *The Fast Runner* in English. Kunuk said he wanted to tell the "truth of what happened" in Inuit culture. The film tells a traditional Inuit story in the Inuktitut language. It won many Canadian and international awards.

The Inuit of Igoolik acted in the film and made the traditional caribou clothes and tools used in the film. Kunuk did not write a script because most people knew the story on which the film was based. Everyone discussed how scenes should be shot and what the characters should say.

Kunuk was delighted that Inuit children were interested in his film because, for the first time, they could watch a movie in their own language.

EXPLORATIONS

1. The actors in *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* spoke Inuktitut. Subtitles in English and other languages were added later. What message do you think Zacharias Kunuk was sending by filming in Inuktitut?
2. In early 2008, Kunuk and his co-producer, Norman Cohn, started a YouTube-like web site. The site is designed to enable Indigenous filmmakers from around the world to present their works to audiences. Development of the site was funded by a loan from a corporation that is owned by Inuit and was set up under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Develop three arguments Kunuk and Cohn might have used when persuading the corporation to support their plan to create this web site.

Métis Pursuit of Self-Determination

On March 11, 2008, the Alberta government withdrew a charge of hunting out of season against Alfred Janvier of La Loche, Saskatchewan. The charge had been laid in 2005 after Janvier, a Métis, shot a moose while he was travelling from his home to visit his sister in Chard, Alberta.

Janvier fought the charge. He said that, as a Métis, he has a constitutional right to harvest moose. He and his lawyers argued that this right extends across provincial boundaries because the region was traditional Métis territory before provincial borders were drawn.

When he heard that the charge had been dropped, Janvier said, "It feels good to be able to say that I was doing nothing wrong when I shot that moose to feed my family, especially when I was in an area where our people have been hunting and fishing for generations."

Canadian provinces make their own laws about where Métis can hunt and fish. In Alberta, Métis are allowed to hunt in specific areas. But some Métis leaders argue that this restriction denies their right to self-determination.

The issues raised by Janvier were important to the Métis in Alberta. Harvesting rights are connected with other land-use issues, such as rights to land where oil is being extracted from the oil sands.

Figure 8-20 Métis Settlements in Alberta

To see Alberta in Canada, turn to the map appendix.

Métis Land Rights in Alberta

In Alberta, Métis people have had some success in pursuing national self-determination. The Métis Association of Alberta was formed in 1932. In 1938, the provincial government passed the Métis Population Betterment Act. This act established the first land base for Métis in Canada. These lands are called the Métis settlements. The Alberta government owned the land, but the settlement associations were granted a degree of self-government.

In the 1982 Canadian Constitution, Métis people were included as Aboriginal peoples of Canada. With this recognition, Métis people in Alberta pressed harder to affirm that they owned settlement lands and had the right to pursue their own economic, social, and cultural policies. In 1990, the Alberta government responded by granting ownership of 500 000 hectares to the Métis settlements.

The Métis Association of Alberta, now renamed the Métis Nation of Alberta, continues to fight for the right to self-determination and self-government. The Alberta settlements are still the only constitutionally protected Métis lands in Canada.

How might the Alberta law that recognizes the Métis's right to control large tracts of land present both challenges and opportunities to Métis and other Albertans. Share your thoughts with a partner.

Québec and National Self-Determination

Pursuing national self-determination is often a long, complex process that can cause conflict. Most Francophone Québécois identify themselves as a distinct cultural group. They share a language, a historical tradition, and a traditional territory. Though Québec remained part of Canada in 2008, the pursuit of sovereignty by many Québec Francophones leaves the province's status in the country uncertain.

The situation in Québec is an example of how one nation's pursuit of self-determination may interfere with another nation's pursuit of the same goal. Eleven distinct Aboriginal peoples live in Québec. Each people has a language, a historical tradition, and a traditional territory. Each has its own claim to self-determination and self-government.

Sometimes, the interests of these Aboriginal peoples clash with the interests of Québec separatists. In 1995, for example, the citizens of Québec voted in a referendum on whether to seek sovereignty. During the debate before this referendum, some Aboriginal groups said that if Québec left Canada, they would leave Québec and stay with Canada.

<<< CheckBack

You read about Québec nationalism in Chapters 1 and 3.

CheckForward >>>

You will read more about the Québécois's pursuit of self-determination in Chapter 15.

Figure 8-21 Aboriginal Nations in Québec

To see Québec in Canada, turn to the map appendix.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Examine the map in Figure 8-21. If Québécois separatists achieve their goal of sovereignty and Aboriginal nations decide to stay with Canada, what might a sovereign Québec look like?
2. Choose one nation that has been pursuing national self-determination in Canada. Note two positive and two negative effects on Canada of this group's pursuit of national self-determination. Support each of your points with logical evidence.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

In November 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduced in the House of Commons a motion recognizing that "the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." On November 27, the House passed the motion by a vote of 266 to 16. Here is what four people said as debate raged over the situation.

On November 23, 2006, Prime Minister **Stephen Harper** responded to Bloc Québécois leader Gilles Duceppe's suggestion that the motion be amended to say that Québécois form a nation "that is currently within Canada."

> The real question is simple: do the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada? The answer is yes. Do the Québécois form a nation independent from Canada? The answer is no, and it will always be no.

On November 24, 2006, Bloc Québécois leader **Gilles Duceppe** had a different idea about what it meant to declare Québécois a nation.

> We are delighted by the fact that Canada will become the first country to officially recognize the Québec nation. Mr. Speaker, there will be many other countries that will recognize the nation of Québec and the country of Québec.

On November 27, 2006, Assembly of First Nations national chief **Phil Fontaine** warned members of Parliament to bear in mind "the right of self-determination and self-government" held by First Nations in Canada.

> The Assembly of First Nations calls upon all Members to make it clear that the Motion with respect to the Québécois in no way derogates [detracts] from, and in no way diminishes or modifies the unique status and rights of First Nations and their unique place in the past, present and future of this land.

On November 29, 2006, **Clément Chartier**, president of the Métis National Council, spoke about the Métis resolution supporting the idea of Québécois as a nation within a strong and united Canada.

> The Métis Nation has long been recognized as a partner in building and defending a strong and united Canada. We value Canada's diversity and believe that the recognition of distinct nations within Canada, such as the Québécois and the Métis Nation, strengthens our bonds to Canada and to each other.

EXPLORATIONS

1. In your own words, explain Phil Fontaine's concern. Do you think his concern was justified? Explain your response.
2. In a short written essay, photo essay, display, computer software presentation, or other format of your choice, explain to someone unfamiliar with Canada what Clément Chartier meant when he said "Canada's diversity." Be sure to include the term "self-determination" in your presentation.

What are some unintended results of pursuing national self-determination?

One people's pursuit of national self-determination sometimes leads to unintended results for other people. The division of India, for example, was an outcome Mohandas Gandhi did not foresee when he started his campaign for Indian self-determination. Nor did he foresee the terrible conflicts that would follow this division.

As people struggle for self-determination, they sometimes lose their homes, personal security, economic prosperity, the necessities of life, and even life itself. Those who are forced to leave their homeland may also lose their cultural heritage.

When people are trying to achieve or maintain national self-determination, safeguarding their cultural heritage is often linked to safeguarding the territory that is tied to their identity. Kosovar Serbs, for example, have strong ties to ancient churches and monasteries in Kosovo. James Lyon is a senior adviser to the International Crisis Group, an agency that tries to prevent and resolve deadly conflict. Lyon explained what the loss of Kosovo meant to Kosovar Serbs. "Kosovo plays an integral role in Serbian identity," Lyon said. "Without Kosovo, they suffer an identity crisis that is much more serious than just losing territory."

Refugees

When people in some countries pursue self-determination, other people — sometimes in those same countries — can be forced from their homes. By 2006, nearly 32 million people around the world were living as **refugees**. A refugee is someone who is forced to leave her or his home to seek safety because of war, natural disaster, or persecution.

To escape, some refugees must travel long distances on foot or in unsafe boats. They usually face an uncertain future and even attacks by people who do not want to offer them shelter.

Once they are out of immediate danger, refugees must find food, shelter, and health care. Refugees who are able to return home often find that their homes have been destroyed. Roads, schools, and hospitals in their towns and cities may be in ruins. They have few ways to earn a living. In addition, their country's justice system may have been shattered, and they may have little or no police protection.

Some people cannot escape from their countries. They are internally displaced persons. In Timor-Leste, for example, the United Nations Refugee Agency says that at least 14 per cent of people have been displaced by the deadly conflicts.

Examine the statistics in Figure 8-22. Which countries did most refugees escape from in 2006? Think about events in those countries. Why would those events have caused so many people to flee?

Why doesn't the UN just step in and quickly solve the problems that cause refugees to flee from their countries?

Figure 8-22 Refugees* from Selected Countries, 2006

Country of Origin	Number of Refugees Recognized by the United Nations
Afghanistan	2 107 519
Bosnia and Herzogovina	199 946
Cambodia	17 995
Iraq	1 450 905
Russian Federation	159 381
Rwanda	92 966
Turkey	227 232
Vietnam	374 279

* Estimates of refugees often vary.
Source: United Nations Refugee Agency, *Statistical Yearbook 2006*

With so many people fleeing conflict around the world, why don't Canada and other developed countries take in more refugees?

Host Countries

Host countries are the countries to which refugees flee — but host countries may also be experiencing conflict. Some refugees even find themselves fleeing from one conflict zone to another. The sudden arrival of a flood of refugees can strain the resources of a host country — and create resentment.

Host countries are not required to allow refugees to stay and become citizens, and in time, many refugees are forced to leave. Some host countries even give refugees money to encourage them to return home. Australia, for example, gives refugee families about $8000 (U.S.), and some European countries give about $4000 (U.S.) a person.

The United Nations and some countries often help by supplying aid to host countries. Non-governmental organizations, such as the Red Cross, also provide relief to refugees and help them return home once it is safe. NGOs also work with the UN Refugee Agency to help refugees when they return home.

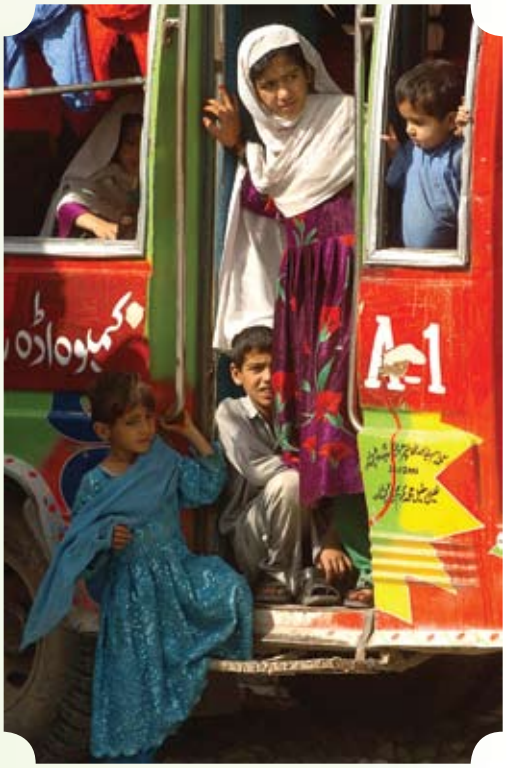


Figure 8-23 In April 2007, some Afghan refugees returned to Kabul, Afghanistan, from Pakistan. At the time, the war in Afghanistan was still going on and thousands of people were fleeing their homes.

Afghan Refugees

In 2008, Afghans formed the largest single group of refugees in the world. Some Afghans have fled to neighbouring countries. Others are still in Afghanistan but have fled areas of conflict or areas under Taliban control. Pakistan, which borders Afghanistan, has received the most Afghan refugees — more than two million by 2008.

Some Afghans have lived in Pakistani refugee camps since 1979, when they fled the Soviet invasion of their country. Iran, another neighbour of Afghanistan, has taken in about 1.5 million Afghans. These estimates include both refugees who are registered with the UN and unregistered refugees.

Neither Pakistan nor Iran is wealthy. Supporting refugees, even with the help of the UN and NGOs, is difficult. In Iran, the GDP is $12 300 a person. In Pakistan, the GDP is even lower — $2600 a person. By comparison, Canada's 2007 GDP was about $38 200 a person.

With a group, brainstorm to create a list of ways that Canada could help countries such as Iran and Pakistan take care of Afghan refugees. Consider humanitarian, economic, and military strategies. Choose the three strategies you believe would be most effective.

Figure 8-24 Canadian artist John Larter created this cartoon in 1999. At that time, refugees were fleeing conflict in many areas, including Kosovo, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, and Sudan. Host countries were also trying to send many refugees away. What is Larter's message about refugees' chances of finding safety?

Difficult Choices

Afghan refugees often face difficult choices. In early 2008, for example, Pakistan decided to close its largest refugee camp. Afghan refugees were forced to decide whether to return to Afghanistan or move to another camp in Pakistan. If they returned home, they faced continuing conflict and economic hardships.

But refugees who stayed would continue to live in difficult conditions with little hope of relief. Maulvi Sahib Toti, a refugee from Kunar province in eastern Afghanistan, explained, "There is very little opportunity to earn a living where we come from, and above that, there is a sense of insecurity."

But moving to another camp in Pakistan could increase the sense of dislocation that the refugees have already experienced, Toti said. "Our problem is that we want to make a single decision that is long lasting for us."

Web Connection

To find out more about current issues facing refugees, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

How has the pursuit of national self-determination affected you?

The students responding to this question are Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement; Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution; and Blair, who lives in Edmonton and whose heritage is Ukrainian, Scottish, and German.

Violet

My family has been pursuing Métis self-determination for a long time. My grandparents fought for the Alberta Métis settlements all through the 1980s. My grandmother keeps telling my brothers and me that we're not there yet. She says it's up to us to finish the job that she and our ancestors started.

I think gaining self-determination for all peoples is going to take a long, long time. I agree with Martin Luther King Jr. He said that when the Americans fought in Vietnam, they didn't even think about the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. But there's another side to that story. He also said that the American government spent so much money on that war that it didn't have any left to help poor people at home.

Jane

Blair

Well, the "pursuit" angle in this question is complicated. Has any nation ever managed to get self-determination without a battle and without a whole lot of baggage left behind? In my family, they still tell stories about the battles the Ukrainians had to fight to get their rights — even in Canada!

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question that Violet, Jane, and Blair are answering? Do any of their responses reflect your experience of self-determination? How do their responses demonstrate the complexity of the pursuit of national self-determination?

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. In this chapter, you have explored whether national self-determination should be pursued.

   A people's ability to use their language in everyday life — in schools, for health care, in dealing with the government — is one measure of their success in pursuing self-determination.

   In 1996, Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok, a Tibetan Buddhist monk and teacher, said the following about the state of the Tibetan language:

   > The Tibetan language has no value in present-day Tibet. For instance, if a letter was mailed with an address written in Tibetan, it wouldn't reach its destination even within Tibet, let alone outside. In the case of travels, no matter how literate a person is in Tibetan, he would not be able to know the bus timing or read the seat number on his ticket . . . the knowledge of Tibetan is useless. A person who knows only Tibetan will find it difficult even to buy daily necessities . . .
   >
   > Rare in Tibet are schools where one can study Tibetan language and culture . . . Moreover, parents have developed the habit of not sending their children to school. This is because the primary school teaches Chinese rather than Tibetan . . . .
   >
   > There are serious cases of people being unable to speak Tibetan, although both their parents are Tibetans. Many of them have lost their Tibetan characteristics. Moreover, the Tibetan officials cannot speak pure Tibetan. One-fifth or two-thirds of the words they use are Chinese. That's why common Tibetans can't understand their speech.

   Work in a small group to complete the following activities:

   a) Read aloud Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok's words. As you do this, replace "Tibet" with "Canada" and "Tibetan" with one of the languages spoken by a national group in Canada (e.g., Cree, French, or Inuktitut). As you read, decide how much each statement applies to national groups seeking self-determination in Canada.

   b) Come to a group consensus on the extent to which Tibetans in Tibet and various national groups in Canada have been successful in pursuing national self-determination.

   c) After achieving consensus, prepare two final statements. One statement should predict what is likely to happen to Tibetans' pursuit of self-determination. The other statement should predict what is likely to happen to the pursuit of self-determination of one of Canada's national groups.

2. Examine the cartoon in Figure 8-25 on this page. It was created by artist Bob Krieger and published shortly after Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduced a motion stating that Québécois are a nation within a united Canada.

   a) What does the hornets' nest represent? What images support your conclusion?

   b) What is Krieger's message? Do you agree with his view? Explain why or why not.

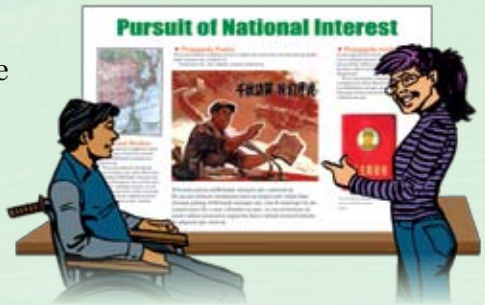
   c) Explain why you think Krieger used the symbol of a hornets' nest. Do you believe this is appropriate? Explain your judgment.

   d) What other symbol(s) might Krieger have used to make the same point? Explain how your choice sends the same message.

Figure 8-25

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Put It All Together



The challenge for Related Issue 2 asks you to create a museum display that explores and presents your informed opinion on the related-issue question: Should nations pursue national interest?

In this final skill builder, you will write a paragraph or two explaining how the items in your display show your response to the related-issue question. You will include this explanation when you assemble and present your display. As you do this, you will hone your skill at developing conclusions based on evidence gathered through research.

Step 1: Review the items in your museum display

Ensure that the items in your museum display — the map, propaganda piece, and artifact — relate to the theme of national interest and clearly show your informed opinion on the related-issue question.

A chart like the following can help you develop your explanation of your choices.

Display Evidence	How does this evidence show my informed opinion?
Historical map	
Propaganda piece	
Artifact	

Step 2: Plan and draft your explanation.

Check the skill builder on page 83 for tips on writing your paragraph. Keep the chart handy. Use the notes on your chart as you organize and write your explanation of how the items in your display show your opinion.

Edit your explanation to be sure that it fulfils your purpose and is clear to readers. Ensure that the content is easy to understand, logical, and convincing.

Step 3: Assemble your museum display

You may wish to visit a museum in your community or an online museum to gather ideas for assembling your display. Think about the look and feel you want your display to project. How do you want the audience to react or interact with your display? How can you lay out your display so that it effectively communicates your message?

When you are ready to assemble your display

- revise the items to reflect feedback you have received about how to make your display more effective
- assemble your display on a board or table
- review "Checklist for Success" on page 106 to ensure that you have met all the criteria to be successful
- present and explain your display to your teacher and classmates and be prepared to respond to their questions